

Message Text

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1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. RESIGNATION FROM SPD OF MUNICH'S TWO DEPUTY MAYORS IS LATEST MANIFESTATION OF DEEP-SEATED AND SEVERE FACTIONAL STRIFE WITHIN MUNICH SPD. THIS MESSAGE IDENTIFIES THE FACTIONS, OUTLINES THEIR APPARENT MOTIVES, AND ANALYZES IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STRIFE FOR 1978 COMMUNAL ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FACTIONS.

A. VON HECKEL'S "LEFTIST" COALITION. MUNICH SPD CHAIRMAN VON HECKEL IS CURRENT LEADER OF A COALITION MADE
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UP OF MODERATE AND DOCTRINAIRE LEFTIST ELEMENTS WHOSE TWIN GOALS ARE THE ELECTON OF VON HECKEL AS LORD MAYOR AND ELECTION OF MAXIMUM NUMBER OF "LEFTISTS" TO MUNICH CITY COUNCIL IN 1978. THIS FACTION IS ON DEFENSIVE AS RESULT OF MUNICH SPD'S DISMAL PERFORMANCE IN 1974 BAVARIAN LANDTAG ELECTION AND 1976 BUNDESTAG ELECTION.

IT IS NOT RPT NOT A HOMOGENEOUS GROUPING, BUT ITS MEMBERS ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY EXIGENCY OF POLITICAL SURVIVAL.

B. THE MODERATES. LIKE THEIR COUNTERPARTS ON BAVARIAN "LAND" LEVEL (I.E. HANS-JOCHEN VOGEL, VOLKMAR GABERT AND BAVARIAN DGB CHIEF WILLY ROTHE), MUNICH SPD MODERATES HAVE BECOME WEARY OF CONTINUED WRANGLING WITH THE LEFTISTS AND HAVE THROWN IN TOWEL. SPD CITY COUNCIL "FRAKTION" LEADERS ANS PREISINGER IS LEADING MEMBER OF THIS GROUPING.

C. THE RIGHTISTS. THIS GROUPING, WHICH SAYS IT STANDS FOR LITERAL APPLICATION OF GODESBERG PROGRAM, IS DETERMINED TO REMAIN IN THE SPD AND TO CONFRONT THE LEFTISTS AT EVERY TURN. ITS MEMBERS, AMONG WHOM ARE ROLF HELMUT PFEIFFER AND ADOLF JOHANN, DEFY "LEFTISTS" TO OUST THEM FROM PARTY AND FACE FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE LEFT'S BADLY TARNISHED IMAGE WITH MIDDLE-OF-ROAD VOTERS.

D. THE "DEFECTORS". DEPUTY MAYORS HELMUT GITTEL AND ECKHART MUELLER-HEYDENREICH HAVE RESIGNED FROM SPD (REFTEL) AND SEEM COMMITTED TO FIGHT THE LEFTIST-DOMINATED MUNICH SPD ORGANIZATION FROM OUTSIDE. THEY MAY WELL FORM A NON-PARTISAN CITIZEN'S GROUP (BUERGER-BLOCK) WHICH WOULD COMPETE IN 1978 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS. GITTEL AND MUELLER-HEYDENREICH APPEAR TO HAVE ENOUGH SUPPORT FROM WEALTHY MUNICH SOP OWNERS TO FINANCE MAJOR ELECTION EFFORT. THEY WOULD HOPE TO ATTRACT VOTERS WHO ARE DISENCHANTED WITH SPD BUT WHO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WOULD NOT FEEL COMFORTABLE SWITCHING TO CSU.

E. LORD MAYOR KRONAWITTER. ALTHOUGH HE REFUSED TO ACCEPT RE-NOMINATION AS 1978 SPD LORD MAYOR CANDIDATE WITHOUT PRESENCE OF GITTEL AND MUELLER-HEYDENREICH ON TICKET WITH HIM, KRONAWITTER'S MOST IMPORTANT TIES ARE WITH THE "MODERATES".

3. IMPLICATIONS. FACTIONAL STRIFE IN MUNICH SPD ORGANIZATION IS LIKELY TO WEAKEN FATALLY SPD'S CHANCES OF MAINTAINING ITS MAJORITY CONTROL OF MUNICH CITY GOVERNMENT. MUNICH CSU CHIEF ERICH KIESL, WHO IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE CSU CANDIDATE FOR LORD MAYOR IN 1978, IS REPORTEDLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT HIS PROSPECTS OF BEING ELECTED. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES DO NOT RPT NOT, HOWEVER, CONSIDER IT LIKELY THAT CSU WOULD WIN MAJORITY CONTROL OF MUNICH CITY COUNCIL. MUNICH CSU HAS WELCOMED DEFECTION OF GITTEL AND MUELLER-HEYDENREICH

AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO GIVE TACIT, BUT NOT RPT NOT
DIRECT SUPPORT TO ANY EFFORT THEY MAKE TO FORM
"BUERGERBLOCK".

4. KIESL'S STRATEGY FOR WINNING CONTROL OF MUNICH
FOR CSU CAN BE VIEWED AS ADAPTATION OF STRAUSS'
STRATEGY FOR OBTAINING UNION MAJORITY IN BUNDESTAG
IN NEXT BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS. KIESL SEEKS TO ENCOURAGE
SMALL POLITICAL GROUPINGS TO LEFT OF CSU TO CONTEST
1978 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AS "INDEPENDENTS". HE HOPES
THESE GROUPINGS WILL WIN ENOUGH SPD VOTES TO PREVENT
SPD FROM RETAINING CONTROL OF CITY EITHER ALONE OR
IN COALITION WITH FDP. AT SAME TIME, KIESL HOPES
THESE GROUPINGS WILL JOIN CSU IN COALITION TO
GOVERN MUNICH.BETTS

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